

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 7 WARSAW 1420

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TAGS: PINT, SHUM, SCUL, EGEN, PL, US  
SUBJ: US GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN POLAND

REF: A. 77 STATE 291277, B. 77 STATE 295591, C. 77 STATE 296053

1. OVERVIEW AND SUMMARY. WE THINK THE OVERALL APPROACH WE HAVE DEVELOPED IN RECENT YEARS TO US-POLISH RELATIONS REMAINS VALID. IT REPRESENTS A BALANCE OF TWO FACTS OF LIFE IN THIS COUNTRY: A) POLAND'S SUBSERVIENCE TO SOVIET POWER AND GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS, AND B) THE PRO-US AND PRO-WESTERN ORIENTATION OF MOST POLES, BASED ON A LONG CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL INHERITANCE. THE FIRST FACTOR SETS TIGHT LIMITS ON HOW FAR THE GOP IS ABLE TO MOVE TOWARD US ON MANY ISSUES OF STRATEGIC, ECONOMIC AND INTERNAL POLICH. THE SECOND CONTRIBUTES, SOMETIMES TO A SURPRISING DEGREE, TO WILLINGNESS ON THE REGIME'S PART TO TEST THOSE LIMITS IN AREAS IT CONSIDERS LESS CRITICAL TO THE SOVIET OVERSEER. FURTHER IMPETUS IN THIS DIRECTION IS, OF COURSE, GENERATED BY WIDESPREAD POPULAR DISCONTENT WITH THE STATE OF THINGS AS THEY ARE. ALTHOUGH GRIEVANCES AND INTERESTS DIFFER AS AMONG WORKERS, FARMERS, INTELLECTUALS, THE  
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CLERGY, STUDENTS, AND EVEN SOME DISAFFECTED PARTY MEMBERS, THEY EXERT A POWERFUL CUMULATIVE PRESSURE ON THE REGIME TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IN DIRECTIONS WE GENERALLY FAVOR. THE STATEMENT OF GOALS AND OBJECTIVES SET OUT IN REF B IS, IN THE MAIN, WELL-CALCULATED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SUCH TENDENCIES. HENCE, IT SUPPORTS OUR BROAD POLICH OF PROMOTING THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE

DEGREE OF POLISH INDEPENDENCE, NATIONAL IDENTITY, AND  
INTERNAL LIBERALIZATION.

2. OUR EFFORTS TOWARD THIS END WILL, OF COURSE, DIFFER  
IN INTENSITY AND STYLE, DEPENDING ON THE ISSUES WITH  
WHICH WE ARE DEALING. WE SHOULD EXPLOIT OUR GOOD CON-  
TACTS AND GENERALLY ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION IN THE ECO-  
NOMIC AREA TO PUSH THE POLES, WHO IN MOST RESPECTS  
ARE THE DEMANDEURS, TOWARD MEETING US POLICH OBJECTIVES,  
INCLUDING SOME IMPORTANT ONES BEYOND THE ECONOMIC FIELD.  
IN PARTICULAR, WE SHOULD RELATE OUR REACTION TO POLISH  
ECONOMIC NEEDS TO GOP RESPONSIVENESS ON HUMANITARIAN  
ISSUES, ESPECIALLY THOSE INVOLVING DIVIDED FAMILIES.  
REGARDING MANY OTHER POLITICAL ISSUES, WE ARE UNDER  
GREATER CONSTRAINT. NEVERTHELESS, WE SHOULD KEEP OUR  
LINES OPEN TO LIBERAL FORCES WITHIN THE PARTY AND GOV-  
ERNMENT, USING WHAT INFLUENCE WE HAVE TO SUPPORT CON-  
TINUATION OF THE RELATIVELY MODERATE POSTURE SHOWN BY  
THE REGIME IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, INCLUDING ITS TREAT-  
MENT OF DISSIDENCE, IN 1977. WE  
SHOULD ENCOURAGE GREATER GOP RECOGNITION OF HUMAN AND  
CIVIL RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND EX-  
PRESSION. IN SUPPORT OF THIS AIM WE WILL UTILIZE OUR  
WIDE CONTACTS AMONG ARTISTS, INTELLECTUALS, AND THE  
MEDIA, AND WILL SEEK FURTHER EXPANSION OF OUR ALREADY  
FLOURISHING PROGRAM OF SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL EX-  
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CHANGES. IN ADDITION, WE HOPE TO BROADEN OUR LINKS TO  
THE POLISH CHURCH. THIS AIM GAINS IN IMPORTANCE IN VIEW  
BOTH OF THE CHURCH'S INFLUENTIAL POSITION IN POLISH  
SOCIETY AND QUESTIONS ABOUT ITS FUTURE ROLE ARISING FROM  
THE UNCERTAIN HEALTH OF THE 76-YEAR OLD CARDINAL  
WYSZYNSKI. FINALLY, WE WILL TAKE STEPS TO ENHANCE AND  
RAISE THE LEVEL OF OUR CONTACTS IN THE POLISH DEFENSE  
ESTABLISHMENT.

3. IN REF A, THE DEPARTMENT INFORMED US THAT A SEP-  
ARATE CABLE WOULD BE SENT TO US COVERING THE MANAGEMENT  
IMPLICATIONS OF OUR POLICY GOALS. THIS CABLE HAS NOT  
ARRIVED. WE NEVERTHELESS WILL SEND A MESSAGE SHORTLY  
ON THIS SUBJECT.

4. FOR THE RECORD, THE ENTIRE EMBASSY COUNTRY  
TEAM PARTICIPATED IN THE DRAFTING OF THIS MESSAGE AND  
HAS CLEARED IT. CONSULATES POZNAN AND KRAKOW HAVE  
BLEARED IT IN SUBSTANCE. END OVERVIEW AND SUMMARY.

5. COMMENTS ON GOALS AND OBJECTIVES.

WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC GOALS AND OBJECTIVES SET OUT IN REF B.

I. PROMOTION OF STABILITY AND INDEPENDENCE

--PROVIDE CONTINUING ANALYSIS OF POLAND'S ECONOMIC SITUATION, PARTICULARLY ITS HARD-CURRENCY DEBT, AND SUGGEST WAYS THE UNITED STATES MIGHT RESPOND TO POLAND'S NEEDS SO AS TO FORESTALL A RETURN TO GREATER POLISH DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIET UNION.

COMMENT: WE EXPECT TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSIONS WE HAVE BEGUN WITH THE GOP AIMED AT CLARIFICATION AND UPDATING OF INFORMATION SUPPLIED BY FINANCE MINISTER KISIEL IN WASHINGTON. THESE EXCHANGES  
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WILL PERMIT A MORE THOROUGH SUPPLEMENT  
CONTINUED REPORTING ON POLISH ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE.

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THE EMBASSY HAS RECENTLY INCREASED ITS REPORTING ON POLAND'S ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE USSR AND OTHER CEMA COUNTRIES, AND WE WILL TAILOR OUR POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE NEED TO DISCOURAGE CLOSER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WITH THE USSR.

--MONITOR POLAND'S NEEDS FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND CREDIT FROM THE UNITED STATES.  
COMMENT: OUR ASSESSMENT OF POLAND'S OVERALL IMPORT REQUIREMENTS OF GRAIN AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES IS HINDERED BY THE GOP'S FAILURE TO PROVIDE YIELD AND ACREAGE ESTIMATES AS REQUIRED BY OUR BILATERAL AGREEMENT OF 1975. THIS PROBLEM WILL BE A PRINCIPAL ITEM ON THE AGENDA OF THE JOINT AGRICULTURAL WORKING GROUP THIS SPRING.

THE AMOUNT OF FOODSTUFFS THE POLES PURCHASE FROM THE US WILL DEPEND IN PARTICULAR ON THE LENGTH OF THE CREDITS, AND TO A LESSER EXTENT, ON THE INTEREST RATE CHARGED. WE HOPE THAT LEGISLATION AUTHORIZING LONG-TERM CREDITS CAN BE PASSED. TURNING A DEAF EAR TO POLISH REQUESTS FOR AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE COULD JEOPARDIZE REALIZATION OF OTHER US  
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POLICY OBJECTIVES IN POLAND. THE UNAVAILABILITY OF LONG-TERM CREDITS COULD FORCE THE GOP TO CUT BACK ON IMPORTS OF FEED GRAINS, WITH POSSIBLY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR LIVESTOCK NUMBERS, MEAT SUPPLIES, AND DOMESTIC STABILITY. THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE DRACONIAN CUTS IN IMPORTS OF MACHINERY AND INDUSTRIAL MATERIALS, WHICH WOULD ALSO HAVE NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR DOMESTIC STABILITY.

WE SHOULD CONSIDER CAREFULLY, HOWEVER, WHETHER OUR OBJECTIVES WOULD BE SERVED BY GIVING THE POLES EXACTLY WHAT THEY WANT: A TEN-YEAR PURCHASE AGREEMENT, CREDITS OF OVER 5 YEARS, AND, THEY HOPE, INTEREST RATES BELOW THOSE CHARGED FOR THE CCC PROGRAM. ENTERING INTO SUCH A COMMITMENT WOULD COST US LEVERAGE IN INFLUENCING THE GOP TO MAINTAIN POLICIES ENCOURAGING EXPANSION OF PRIVATE FARMS AND TO IMPROVE ITS PERFORMANCE IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

WE MIGHT INSTEAD OFFER AN INTERMEDIATE PACKAGE, E.G., INCLUDING POLAND AMONG THE RECIPIENTS OF LONG-TERM CREDITS WHILE LIMITING ANY COMMITMENT ON AMOUNTS OF GRAIN AND CREDITS TO A "BEST EFFORTS" PLEDGE TO RESPOND TO POLISH NEEDS. A PROMISE TO PROVIDE A MINIMUM AMOUNT, PERHAPS TWO OR THREE MILLION METRIC TONS, MIGHT BE CONSIDERED AS PART OF THIS APPROACH. THE POLES' DESIRE TO BUY BETWEEN FOUR AND FIVE MILLION METRIC TONS ON THESE TERMS SHOULD PRESERVE WHATEVER LEVERAGE EXISTS FOR ENCOURAGING THEM TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS IN OTHER FIELDS.

WE SHOULD MAKE IT UNDERSTOOD THAT THERE IS A RELATIONSHIP

BETWEEN EXTENSION OF US CREDITS AND GOP RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS RELATIONSHIP WAS CALLED TO THE REGIME'S ATTENTION  
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DURING SENATOR STEVENSON'S VISIT TO WARSAW IN MID-JANUARY, AND THE POINT WAS PROBABLY NOT LOST ON THE LEADERSHIP. WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE REPEATED IN EVERY HIGH-LEVEL VISIT. WE UNDERSTAND THAT NEW EXIM AND AGRICULTURAL CREDIT LEGISLATION WILL PROBABLY REQUIRE THE LENDING AGENCY TO TAKE THE RECIPIENT GOVERNMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD INTO CONSIDERATION. WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL, HOWEVER, NOT TO OVERESTIMATE THE LEVERAGE ENTAILED IN OUR GRAIN SALES AND CREDITS; THE ECONOMIC WEIGHT WIELDED BY THE USSR-PARTICULARLY THROUGH ITS SUPPLY OF 13 MILLION TONS OF OIL ANNUALLY, WHICH WOULD COST OVER \$1 BILLION ON THE WORLD MARKET--IS MUCH LARGER.

--PROMOTE HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGES WITH POLISH LEADERS, IN PARTICULAR TO REINFORCE THE IMPACT OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT IN DECEMBER, AND LEADING TO A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1978 BY FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK.  
COMMENT: FROM WHAT WE KNOW OF FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK'S PLANS FOR TRAVEL, A 1978 VISIT TO THE US APPEARS UNLIKELY. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD KEEP THIS AS A GENERAL POLICH OBJECTIVE AND TRY TO INCLUDE GIEREK AMONG THE EARLY 1979 OFFICIAL VISITORS. MEANWHILE, WE SHOULD FOCUS ON CABINET-LEVEL EXCHANGES, ESPECIALLY IN THE SECTORS MORE RELEVANT TO OUR PRIMARY ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES.

POLISH REPRESENTATIVES AT THE LEVEL OF MINISTER OR ABOVE WILL ATTEND THE MAY, 1978, MEETING OF THE US-POLISH ECONOMIC COUNCIL AND THE AUTUMN MEETING OF THE JOINT TRADE COMMISSION. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE HIGHLY USEFUL TO SUPPLEMENT THESE REGULARLY SCHEDULED EVENTS WITH AN EXCHANGE OF VISITS BY AGRICULTURE SECRETARY BERGLUND AND THE

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NEW MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, LEON KLONICKA. WE UNDERSTAND A STOP IN POLAND BY SECRETARY BERGLUND IS UNDER CONSIDERATION FOR LATE SPRING; WE STRONGLY ENDORSE THIS EVEN IF THE RECIPROCAL TRIP BY KLONICKA IS NOT IMMEDIATELY POSSIBLE. WASHINGTON MIGHT ALSO WISH TO CONSIDER A FORMAL INVITATION TO FINANCE MINISTER KISIEL TO COME TO THE US IN RETURN FOR THE OFFICIAL VISIT OF TREASURY SECRETARY SIMON IN JULY 1976.

IN ADDITION, WE UNDERSTAND THAT DEPUTY PLANNING COMMISSION CHAIRMAN SYKSTUS OLESIK (WHO HAS MINISTERIAL RANK) IS PLANNING TO LEAD A COMMERCIAL DELEGATION, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THREE OR FOUR VICE-MINISTERS FROM THE ECONOMIC MINISTRIES, TO THE US THIS SUMMER; MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON SHOULD ALSO BE ARRANGED FOR THIS GROUP.

AN EARLY VISIT BY SECRETARY OF ENERGY SCHLESINGER WOULD PROVIDE A STRONG IMPETUS TO EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE CLOSER COOPERATION ON ENERGY PROBLEMS. THERE IS NO PRECISE COUNTERPART TO SECRETARY SCHLESINGER IN THE GOP, BUT MINISTER OF MINING LEJCAK TRAVELED TO THE US IN OCTOBER, 1977, AT INTERIOR SECRETARY ANDRUS'S INVITATION. A SCHLESINGER VISIT COULD BE TREATED AS RECIPROCITY FOR THAT VISIT. WE WOULD ALSO URGE THAT HEW SECRETARY CALIFANO TRY THIS YEAR TO ACCEPT THE INVITATION FROM MINISTER OF HEALTH  
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SLIWINSKI TO COME TO POLAND IN RETURN FOR SLIWINSKI'S 1977 VISIT TO THE US. THIS EXCHANGE WOULD UNDERSCORE THE CLOSE AND FRUITFUL US-POLISH COOPERATION IN HEALTH AFFAIRS THAT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

--ENCOURAGE INCREASED ORIENTATION TOWARD THE WEST IN POLITICAL-ECONOMIC POLICIES BY FACILITATING CONSTRUCTIVE INTERCHANGE IN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, CULTURAL, AND EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER FIELDS.  
COMMENT: WE CAN TAKE A NUMBER OF STEPS TO EXPAND SUCH CONTACTS, WHICH ARE ALREADY FLOURISHING IN SOME FIELDS. WE HAVE BEEFED UP OUR IVP REVIEW PROCESS AND ARE BRINGING IN ALL ELEMENTS OF THE COUNTRY TEAM TO SELECT APPROPRIATE CANDIDATES. (OUR MOST RECENT NOMINATIONS WERE SUBMITTED IN 77 WARSAW 1210.) IN ADDITION, WE ARE IMPROVING OUR FOLLOW-UP PROCEDURES TO ASSURE CONTINUED

CONTACT WITH EXCHANGEES AFTER THEY RETURN TO POLAND.

CONSTRUCTIVE INTERCHANGE SHOULD NOT BE CONFINED TO THE OFFICIAL LEVEL, HOWEVER. WE MUST BE ALERT TO THE POSSIBILITIES FOR PRIVATE EXCHANGES, SOME OF WHICH MAY BE FACILITATED BY USG FINANCIAL SUPPORT. IN PARTICULAR, WASHINGTON AGENCIES SHOULD STRENGTHEN THEIR COOPERATION WITH AMERICAN POLONIA TO ENCOURAGE POLONIA'S OWN EXCHANGE EFFORTS THROUGH SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS THE KOSCIUSZKO FOUNDATION.

II. PROMOTION OF INTERNAL LIBERALIZATION, GREATER RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND INCREASED PLURALISM

--MONITOR POLISH CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND ENCOURAGE IMPROVEMENTS, ESPECIALLY IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND BASKET III PROVISIONS.

COMMENT: WE WILL ORIENT OUR REPORTING MORE TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS AND CSCE COMPLIANCE. THE SEMI-ANNUAL CSCE REPORT AND THE CONFIDENTIAL

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MONTHLY STATISTICAL REPORTS ON DIVIDED FAMILIES WILL REPRESENT IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS IN THIS CONNECTION. WE WILL CONTINUE TO SET FORTH US VIEWS THROUGH THE EMBASSY'S PRESS AND CULTURAL PROGRAMMING, PLACEMENT OF SPEAKERS, PRESENTATIONS, AND REPRESENTATION ACTIVITIES. WE WILL ALSO DISCREETLY BRIEF WESTERN NEWSMEN ON POLISH COMPLIANCE WITH THE FINAL ACT. CLOSER CONSULTATION WITH EMBASSIES HAVING SPECIAL HUMAN-RIGHTS PROBLEMS WITH THE GOP WILL BE UNDERTAKEN. THE CANADIANS, BRITISH, FRENCH, AND WEST GERMANS ALL HAVE MANY DIVIDED FAMILY CASES, AND AT A MINIMUM WE SHOULD CONSULT WITH THEM ON THE BEST STRATEGY FOR ELICITING A RESPONSIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF POLISH AUTHORITIES. MORE GENERALLY, WE WILL MEET REGULARLY WITH NATO AND SELECTED EUROPEAN NEUTRAL EMBASSIES TO SHARE INFORMATION ON POLISH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

WITHOUT EXAGGERATING THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM TOLERATED BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES, WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE DEMONSTRATION EFFECT ELSEWHERE IN EASTERN EUROPE OF THE RELATIVELY MODERATE POLICIES PURSUED BY WARSAW. POLAND HAS RECEIVED TANGIBLE ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, AND TECHNICAL BENEFITS THROUGH COOPERATION WITH THE US, PARTLY BECAUSE ITS RELATIVELY MORE LIBERAL INTERNAL POLICIES HAVE GENERATED SUFFICIENT PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT. TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CAN ENCOURAGE AND REWARD CONTINUATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THOSE POLICIES, THEY MAY APPEAR AS AN ATTRACTIVE MODEL TO HARDER-LINE EAST EUROPEAN CAPITALS.

--CONTINUE TO MAKE REGULAR AND VIGOROUS REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF DIVIDED FAMILIES.

COMMENT: WE BELIEVE OUR PRESENT TWO-TRACK APPROACH WITH THE  
POLES SHOULD

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BE MAINTAINED. THUS, WE PROPOSE TO CONTINUE SENDING THE MFA  
LISTS OF NEW DIVIDED FAMILY CASES AS THEY ARISE. IN ADDITION,  
WE WILL DISCUSS SPECIAL CASES WHICH REPRESENT UNUSUAL HARDSHIPS  
FOR THE PEOPLE CONCERNED. IN PARTICULAR, WE WILL KEEP PRESSING  
FOR FAVORBLE RESOLUTION OF THE KENNEDY-STROJEK, PIKE-  
BIEGUNSKI, AND KOTLARZ CASES.

IN ALL OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THIS ISSUE, WE MUST REMIND THE POLES  
THAT POOR PERFORMANCE IN MEETING OUR CONCERNS ON FREEDOM OF  
MOVEMENT AND DIVIDED FAMILIES INCREASES THE DIFFICULTY OF OUR  
RESPONDING POSITIVELY TO POLAND'S NEEDS. WE SHOULD STATE THIS  
NOT AS A THREAT, BUT A SIMPLE FACT OF POLITICAL LIFE.

--ENCOURAGE POLISH LEADERS TO MAINTAIN A MODERATE AND  
RESPONSIVE APPROACH TO DISSIDENCE, AND TO ENGAGE IN  
GENUINE CONSULTATION WITH THE POPULACE.

COMMENT: THIS OBVIOUSLY SENSITIVE OBJECTIVE WILL HAVE TO BE  
APPROACHED CAREFULLY AND INDIRECTLY. REPRESENTATIONS MADE  
WITHIN THE CSCE CONTEXT MIGHT ENCOURAGE THE REGIME TO ENTER  
INTO SOME DEGREE OF DIALOGUE WITH THE PUBLIC AND, PERHAPS,  
TO MAINTAIN ITS RELATIVELY MODERATE STANCE TOWARD DISSIDENCE.  
OTHERWISE, WE CAN ASSUME THAT PERIODIC US RECOGNITION OF POLAND'S  
MORE MODERATE HANDLING OF DISSIDENCE WILL SERVE TO ENCOURAGE  
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A CONTINUATION OF THIS POLICY.

--MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH DISSIDENT GROUPS OF ALL POLITICAL PERSUASIONS AND SEEK TO UNDERSTAND THEIR OBJECTIVES, TACTICS, INFLUENCE AND THEIR INTERACTION WITH THE REGIME.

COMMENT: OUR POSSIBILITIES OF FULFILLING THIS OBJECTIVE ARE LIMITED AND WILL DEPEND TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT ON FORTUITOUS CIRCUMSTANCES. OUR PRESENT CONTACTS AMONG CRITICS AND OPPONENTS OF THE REGIME REPRESENT A WIDE SPECTRUM OF VIEWPOINTS. WE MAINTAIN FREQUENT AND OPEN RELATIONS WITH CHURCH LEADERS, THE CATHOLIC INTELLECTUAL CLUBS, AND PUBLICATIONS SUCH AS TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, AS WELL AS MANY LAY INTELLECTUALS AND ARTISTS. HOWEVER, EMBASSY POLICY, WHICH WAS APPROVED AT AT HIGH USG LEVELS JUST BEFORE PRESIDENT CARTER'S VISIT, SETS CLEAR LIMITS ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH EMBASSY OFFICERS MAY TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN ESTABLISHING TIES WITH TRUE DISSIDENTS, SUCH AS THOSE IN THE MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS, AND THE COMMITTEE FOR SOCIAL SELF DEFENSE. WE BELIEVE WE CAN STILL KEEP IN TOUCH WITH DISSIDENTS WITHIN THESE GUIDELINES, CERTAINLY TO THE EXTENT OF KNOWING WHAT THEY ARE DOING AND ASSURING THEM THAT WE ARE NOT INDIFFERENT TO THEIR CAUSE.

### III. EXPANSION OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

--PROMOTE TWO-WAY TRADE.

COMMENT: WE CANNOT REALISTICALLY EXPECT TO ACHIEVE RAPID INCREASES IN OUR TOTAL TRADE TURNOVER WITH POLAND OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS. POLISH HARD-CURRENCY IMPORTS FELL BY 4.3 PERCENT IN 1977 AND COULD FALL FURTHER IN 1978. THE SIZE OF OUR AGRICULTURAL CREDITS AND SALES WILL BE THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR AFFECTING OUR EXPORTS TO POLAND. WE SHOULD DO WHAT WE

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CAN TO INCREASE OUR SHARE OF POLAND'S IMPORT MARKET, PARTICULARLY FOR MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT, AND CONCENTRATE ON ESTABLISHING A BASIS FOR STEADY DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS AFTER 1980. CONCLUSION OF OUR DRAFT AGREEMENTS ON INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION, EXCHANGE OF ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INFORMATION, SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZE BUSINESS, AND TOURISM WILL HELP ESTABLISH THIS BASIS.

WE SHOULD ALSO USE WHATEVER FLEXIBILITY EXISTS IN RESPONDING TO POLISH CONCERNS IN SEVERAL HIGHLY VISIBLE MARKET-ACCESS QUESTIONS. MID-YEAR INCREASES IN POLAND'S FISHING QUOTAS, WHICH WOULD HELP COMPENSATE FOR THE DISPROPORTIONATE CUTS IN THE GOP'S ANNUAL QUOTA, WOULD BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL.

CONDUCTING MARKETING SEMINARS IN THE US, AS SUGGESTED DURING  
THE LAST TRADE COMMISSION MEETINGS, WILL ALSO BE IMPORTANT.

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--ENCOURAGE CLOSER COMMERCIAL AND SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION  
ON ENERGY PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY THOSE RELATED TO POLAND'S  
COAL TECHNOLOGY AND RESOURCES.  
COMMENT: THE HIGH-LEVEL US-POLISH GROUP ON COAL RESEARCH,  
WHICH SECRETARY VANCE AND FOREIGN MINISTER WOJTASZEK HAVE AGREED  
SHOULD BE FORMED IN MARCH, COULD BE AN EXCELLENT VEHICLE TO  
PURSUE THIS OBJECTIVE AND DEVELOP A USEFUL DIALOGUE. IT ALSO  
SHOULD PROVIDE SUBSIDIARY BENEFITS: A) MORE INFORMATION TO ASSESS  
POLISH RESOURCES AND CAPABILITIES IN TERMS OF US NEEDS AND  
INTERESTS, B) A REDUCTION IN PROBLEMS OF COORDINATION STEMMING  
FROM THE DIVIDED RESPONSIBILITIES AND IMPERFECT COMMUNICATION  
AMONG THE SEVERAL POLISH MINISTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED,  
AND C) BETTER UNDERSTANDING BY THE POLES OF THE US ENERGY SITUATION,  
INCLUDING THE ORGANIZATION AND OPERATIONS OF THE NEW DEPARTMENT  
OF ENERGY.

--IMPROVE POLISH UNDERSTANDING OF OUR ECONOMIC PRACTICES,  
LAWS, INSTITUTIONS AND PROCEDURES, E.G., ANTI-DUMPING AND  
COUNTERVAILING DUTY REGULATIONS, SO POLISH EXPORTERS WILL KNOW  
HOW TO DEAL WITH THE US MARKET.  
COMMENT: THE PROPOSED TREASURY REGULATIONS PERMITTING  
DETERMINATION OF FAIR VALUE ON THE BASIS OF CONSTRUCTED PRICES  
SHOULD HELP PERSUADE POLISH EXPORTERS THAT THE DECK IS NOT,  
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AFTER ALL, STACKED AGAINST THEM. WE MUST, HOWEVER, OVERCOME THE PAINFUL FIVE-YEAR HISTORY OF THE GOLF-CART CASE IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH FULLY THIS OBJECTIVE.

A VISIT TO POLAND BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF TREASURY EHRENHAFT WOULD BE THE MOST IMPORTANT STEP IN EXPLAINING THE IMPACT OF THESE POLICIES. IN ADDITION TO MEETINGS WITH A RESPONSIBLE GOP OFFICIAL AT THE CABINET LEVEL, HE SHOULD ADDRESS DIRECTORS OF POLISH FOREIGN TRADE COMPANIES. WE SHOULD ALSO PREPARE A DOCUMENT IN POLISH DESCRIBING THE INTENT AND IMPACT OF OUR ANTI-DUMPING REGULATIONS WHICH COULD GIVE A BETTER FRAME OF REFERENCE TO THESE EXPORTERS. TREASURY'S OPEN-DOOR POLICY FOR STATEMENTS OF POLISH CONCERNS ON GOLF CARTS AND COUNTER-VAILING DUTIES IS ALSO A KEY PART OF ANY EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD. IN ADDITION, DUMPING AND ANTI-TRUST EXPERTS SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN ANY MARKETING SEMINARS SPONSORED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE OR THE US-POLISH ECONOMIC COUNCIL IN WASHINGTON.

--FOSTER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE MARITIME INDUSTRIES AND GOVERNMENT MARITIME OFFICIALS IN BOTH COUNTRIES.  
COMMENT: THE PLANNED VISIT TO POLAND BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE BLACKWELL WILL BE AN IMPORTANT STEP IN DEVELOPING SUCH COOPERATION. VICE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN TRADE AND MARITIME ECONOMY ZYLKOWSKI SHOULD BE INVITED TO THE US IN RETURN. WE SHOULD EXCHANGE IDEAS WITH THE POLES ON PROSPECTS FOR COOPERATION, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREAS OF SHIP DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION, BEFORE THE BLACKWELL VISIT. COOPERATION IN THE SHIPPING FIELD MIGHT ALSO BE IMPROVED IF WE SUCCEED IN OBTAINING NON-TARIFF CONCESSIONS FROM THE GOP IN THE CURRENT MTN IN GENEVA. OUR WILLINGNESS TO LICENSE GAS TURBINE ENGINES FOR USE IN POLISH CONSTRUCTION OF LNG TANKERS SHOULD ALSO BE IMPORTANT IN DEVELOPING COOPERATION IN THIS AREA.  
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--ENCOURAGE AND MONITOR POLISH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL PROVISIONS OF BASKET II OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.  
COMMENT: WE MUST KEEP UP THE PRESSURE TO IMPROVE POLISH PERFORMANCE ON PUBLICATION OF ECONOMIC AND TRADE DATA. SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION OF A BILATERAL AGREEMENT ON EXCHANGE OF ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INFORMATION WOULD HELP CORRECT THIS PROBLEM. THE POLISH CHAMBER OF FOREIGN TRADE HAS UPDATED AND EXPANDED DIRECTORIES OF POLISH FOREIGN TRADE COMPANIES AND OFFICIALS. WE WILL ENCOURAGE FURTHER STEPS IN THIS DIRECTION. WE WILL ALSO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO GAIN IMPROVEMENTS

IN THE FIELD OF BUSINESS CONTACTS AND FACILITIES AS DISCUSSED  
BELOW. THE ESTABLISHMENT IN DECEMBER 1977, OF THE STANDING  
WORKING GROUP ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION AND BUSINESS FACILITATION  
UNDER THE JOINT TRADE COMMISSION SHOULD BE HELPFUL IN REALIZING  
THESE OBJECTIVES.

--INCREASE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE US BUSINESS  
COMMUNITY IN POLAND BY RESPONDING TO THEIR EXPRESSED  
NEEDS AND MAKING REPRESENTATIONS ON THEIR BEHALF.  
COMMENT: THE EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE ITS REPRESENTATIONS  
ON BEHALF OF RESIDENT AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN. OUR INTERVENTIONS  
OVER THE LAST YEAR CONTRIBUTED TO THE GOP DECISION TO RAISE  
THE EXCHANGE RATE ACCORDED LOCAL OFFICES TO THE TOURIST RATE,  
WHICH FORMERLY WAS ENJOYED ONLY BY VISITING BUSINESSMEN.  
FOR THE FUTURE, WE MUST DEAL WITH POLISH PLANS TO RAISE RENTS  
SUBSTANTIALLY ON LIVING AND WORKING PREMISES. OUR FIRMS ARE ALSO  
ASKING FOR HELP IN DEALING WITH THE NEW POLISH COUNTER-  
PURCHASE REQUIREMENTS. FINALLY, WE WILL ENCOURAGE THE GOP  
TO ADOPT CLEARER REGULATIONS PERMITTING FOREIGN FIRMS,  
SUCH AS IMPORT-EXPORT ESTABLISHMENTS, TO OPEN OFFICES IN WARSAW  
EXCLUSIVELY FOR REPRESENTATION OF THIRD COMPANIES.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 6 OF 7 WARSAW 1420

FOR EUR ONLY

--EXPAND INFORMATION ACTIVITIES.  
COMMENT: WE INTEND TO INCREASE PRESS AND CULTURAL PROGRAMMING  
IN THE TRADE AND ECONOMIC AREA, PARTICULARLY THROUGH THE AMERICAN  
SPECIALIST, VOLUNTARY SPEAKER, AND INTERNATIONAL VISITOR  
PROGRAMS. COOPERATION OF THE EMBASSY'S PRESS AND CULTURE SECTION  
WITH THE TRADE DEVELOPMENT CENTER WILL BE STEPPED UP PARTICULARLY  
WITH REGARD TO THE MONTHLY PUBLICATION WIADOMOSCI HANDLOWE,  
VIDEO TAPE PROGRAMMING, AND PRESS CONFERENCES RELATED TO

ECONOMIC ISSUES.

IV. BROADENING OF BILATERAL CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC TIES.

--EXPLORE THE FEASIBILITY OF OPENING AN AMERICAN CULTURAL CENTER IN WARSAW.

COMMENT: ALTHOUGH WE WILL EXPLORE FURTHER THE POSSIBILITIES FOR OPENING SUCH A CENTER, POLISH OFFICIALS ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE RECEPTIVE. THEY HAVE TOLD US WE WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO OPEN A CENTER IN WARSAW UNTIL THEY CAN AFFORD TO ESTABLISH A RECIPROCAL POLISH ONE IN THE US, SOMETHING THEY ALMOST CERTAINLY COULD NOT DO ANY TIME SOON.

--BEGIN DISCUSSIONS ON FUNDING THE JOINT SCIENCE PROGRAM BEYOND 1981 WHEN PRESENT FUNDING WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL

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EXHAUSTED.

COMMENT: BECAUSE OF THE LONG LEAD TIME REQUIRED TO MAKE THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS AND TO ENSURE THAT THE MOMENTUM NOW ACHIEVED WILL BE MAINTAINED, WE SHOULD BEGIN THESE DISCUSSIONS SOON. THE NEXT S&T JOINT BOARD MEETING, TO BE HELD WITHIN A MONTH OR TWO IN WASHINGTON, MAY BE AN APPROPRIATE TIME TO INITIATE TALKS.

AN EARLY WASHINGTON DECISION IS NEEDED ON THE SOURCES OF FUNDS THAT MIGHT BE AVAILABLE, FROM WHICH TECHNICAL AGENCIES, ABOUT, HOW MUCH, AND UNDER WHAT LIMITATIONS OR REQUIREMENTS.

IF NEW LEGISLATION REGARDING THE SALES OF SURPLUS AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES TO POLAND IS LIKELY TO RETURN US TO A POSITION OF HOLDING EXCESS ZLOTYS, THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD CONSIDER PROVISIONS IN THE LEGISLATION THAT WOULD ENABLE THE USE OF THOSE ZLOTYS BY US TECHNICAL AGENCIES FOR SUPPORT OF A CONTINUING COOPERATIVE PROGRAM. AS WASHINGTON AGENCIES KNOW, HARD-CURRENCY AVAILABILITY IS THE KEY FACTOR LIMITING GOP DESIRES TO SUPPORT FURTHER COOPERATION

--EXPAND THE SCOPE OF EXISTING CULTURAL ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THE INTERNATIONAL VISITORS PROGRAM AND THE FULBRIGHT LECTURER PROGRAM.

COMMENT: AS MENTIONED EARLIER, THE EMBASSY IS IMPROVING ITS SYSTEM OF CONTACTS WITH RETURNED GRANTEES. WE ARE ALSO CONSIDERING RETURN VISITS BY SOME WHOSE PRESENT STATUS WARRANTS SUCH CONSIDERATION, AND WE WOULD LIKE TO AWARD MORE GRANTS TO SUBORDINATES OF RANKING GRANTEES IN AN EFFORT TO ENSURE MAXIMUM POLICY IMPACT OF THE GRANTEE'S VISIT. INCREASED FUNDING OF EMBASSY IVP AND MULTI-REGIONAL PROJECT PROGRAMMING WOULD ENABLE US TO SEND MORE GRANTEES FROM POLISH INSTITUTIONS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED WITH THEIR COUNTRY'S RELATIONS WITH THE US.

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THE MOST PROMISING PROSPECT FOR EXPANDING THE SCOPE OF THE FULBRIGHT LECTURER PROGRAM IS PROVIDED BY THE REPORT BY PROFESSOR EDWARD ANTHONY, COMMISSIONED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND DATED MAY 13, 1977. THE REPORT'S MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS CALL FOR AN INCREASE OF SIX FULBRIGHT LECTURERS. IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE PROPOSALS WOULD MOVE US TOWARD INCREASED EMPHASIS ON AMERICAN CULTURE, CIVILIZATION, AND INSTITUTIONS, AND ON AMERICAN PEDAGOGY APPLIED TO THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE.

EXPANSION OF THE AMERICAN PRESENCE AT POLISH UNIVERSITIES IN SOME OTHER DISCIPLINES MAY BE LIMITED BY THE DIFFICULTY OF FINDING AMERICAN PROFESSORS WHO ARE ABLE TO LECTURE IN POLISH. WE CAN PLACE LECTURERS WITHOUT POLISH LANGUAGE COMPETENCE ONLY ON LIMITED SHORT-TERM GRANTS.

--PROMOTE THE EXPANSION OF THE AMERICAN STUDIES CENTER IN WARSAW.

COMMENT: INCREASED PROGRAMMING BY RESIDENT AND VISITING LECTURERS, CONTINUED STAFF DEVELOPMENT, CLOSER COLLABORATION WITH INDIANA UNIVERSITY, AND CONTINUED FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR US LECTURERS AND LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT WILL EXPAND THE CENTER'S WORK, AS WE HAVE PLANNED AND AGREED WITH CU, USIA, AND POLISH AUTHORITIES.

--INCREASE POLISH AWARENESS OF US CULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS AND THE VALUE OF US-POLISH COOPERATION IN THESE AREAS THROUGH EXHIBITS, LECTURE PROGRAMS AND OTHER PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES.

COMMENT: WE USE VOA BROADCAST MATERIAL, THE USIA WIRELESS FILE, AND USIA PUBLICATIONS AMERYKA, DIALOGUE, AND ECONOMIC IMPACT TO PROMOTE THIS OBJECTIVE.

ALSO, DURING THE NEXT YEAR WE WILL PLACE AT LEAST THREE MAJOR EXHIBITS, INCLUDING A COLLECTION OF MODERN AMERICAN PAINTINGS, AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN WARSAW. WE EXPECT TO HAVE AT LEAST 10 VISITING SPEAKERS THIS YEAR, AND WE WILL MAKE EXTENSIVE USE

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OF AMERICAN SPECIALISTS, VOLUNTARY SPEAKERS, AND RESIDENT FULBRIGHT LECTURERS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 7 OF 7 WARSAW 1420

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MORE THAN 100 US SCIENTISTS AND TECHNICAL ADMINISTRATORS ARE VISITING POLAND ANNUALLY UNDER THE COOPERATIVE SCIENCE PROGRAM. FEW SPEND TIME WITH OTHER THAN THEIR IMMEDIATE COUNTERPARTS. SOME MAY BE WILLING TO MEET WITH LARGER GROUPS, INCLUDING STUDENTS, FOR LECTURES OR SEMINARS. WE WILL EXPLORE ARRANGEMENTS TO GET MORE MILEAGE FROM THESE VISITS. FOR THIS PURPOSE, THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD ALERT THE EMBASSY WHEN PERSONS OF SPECIAL SCIENTIFIC OR TECHNICAL PROMINENCE AND APPEAL ARE PLANNING VISITS.

V. INITIATION OF PRELIMINARY CONTACTS IN THE MILITARY FIELD.

COMMENT: WE SUGGEST THAT THE TITLE OF THIS SECTION READ "INCREASED CONTACTS IN THE MILITARY DEFENSE FIELD". THIS REFLECTS OUR BELIEF THAT THE SERVICE-TO-SERVICE RELATIONSHIPS (ARMY AND AIR) WE NOW HAVE HAVE NOT YIELDED SUFFICIENT CONTACTS AT THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE (MOD), WHERE THE POLICY MAKERS ARE.

--ARRANGE A VISIT BY A NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE GROUP.

COMMENT: THE MFA HAS SAID A VISIT BY A NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY GROUP MIGHT BE POSSIBLE, ALTHOUGH IT SHOULD HAVE AS MUCH "CIVILIAN" ATMOSPHERE AS POSSIBLE. WE SHOULD GO ALONG WITH THIS PREFERENCE AS LONG AS WE ARE SATISFIED THAT A VISIT WOULD HAVE SUFFICIENT SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT AND NOT SIMPLY REPRESENT A TOURISTIC EVENT.

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ALSO, WE SHOULD OFFER TO HOLD SUCH VISITS ON A RECIPORCAL BASIS.

--SCHEDULE A PORT CALL BY A US NAVY VESSEL.

COMMENT: OUR NEXT APPROACH TO THE GOP ON A PORT CALL BY A US VESSEL SHOULD BE COUCHED IN TERMS OF RECIPROCITY FOR THE POLISH PARTICIPATION IN OUR BICENTENNIAL PROJECT "OPERATION SAILD". WE HAVE RECEIVED AN INFORMAL INDICATION FROM THE MFA THAT A TRAINING SHIP, SUCH AS THE COAST GUARD'S "EAGLE", WOULD BE MORE LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTED, SINCE IT COULD BE CONSIDERED COMPARABLE TO THE "DAR POMORZE" WHICH REPRESENTED POLAND IN "OPERATION SAIL".

VI. FORMULATION OF PROPOSALS FOR A USEFUL DIALOGUE ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES OF INTEREST TO BOTH COUNTRIES.

--EXPLAIN US POLICY TOWARD NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES. ELICIT FROM POLAND A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES.  
COMMENT: THIS POLICY OBJECTIVE WAS GIVEN A BOOST WHEN SECRETARY VANCE AND UNDERSECRETARY COOPER DISCUSSED NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES DURING THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE FOLLOWED THAT INITIATIVE BY TALKS WITH LOWER LEVEL MFA OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR MULTILATERAL MATTERS. WE RECOMMEND THAT UNDERSECRETARY COOPER AND OTHER USG OFFICIALS RAISE THE MATTER AGAIN WHEN AMBASSADOR SPASOWSKI MAKES HIS INITIAL CALLS. WE SHOULD ALSO USE VISITS OF OTHER US OFFICIALS, SUCH AS SECRETARY BERGLUND, TO UNDERSCORE THE COMMON INTERESTS OF ALL INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THOSE IN EASTERN EUROPE, IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS OF LDC'S. FINALLY, WE SHOULD INCLUDE ARTICLES ON THE SUBJECT IN POLISH-LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS DISTRIBUTED BY USIA. DRAWING ON THE USIA WIRELESS FILE, AND OTHER SOURCES ON OCCASION, THE EMBASSY ALREADY REGULARLY SENDS PRESS BULLETINS ON THIS SUBJECT TO POLISH OFFICIALS, EDITORS, AND RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS.. VISITING SPEAKERS ALSO CAN BE USED FOR THIS PURPOSE.  
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IN STEPPING UP OUR EFFORTS IN THIS FIELD, WE SHOULD BE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO CHANGE POLAND'S BASIS POLICY ON NORTH-SOUTH QUESTIONS. THESE POLICY LINES ARE LAID DOWN IN MOSCOW AND ALLOW FOR ONLY LIMITED COMMON CAUSE WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES IN DEALING WITH THE DEVELOPING WORLD. NEVERTHELESS, THE INCREASING UNPOPULARITY OF THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES' INDIFFERENCE TO THE PROBLEMS OF POORER COUNTRIES MAY FORCE A GREATER RECEPTIVITY TO COOPERATION IN THE FUTURE. THE GOP, ENJOYING GOOD RELATIONS WITH BOTH ITS WARSAW PACT ALLIES AND MOST WESTERN COUNTRIES, WOULD BE IN A GOOD POSITION TO ENCOURAGE THIS SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY.

--SEEK AND PROPOSE WAYS OF ESTABLISHING A DIALOGUE WITH POLISH OFFICIALS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST. CONTRIBUTE THROUGH PERIODICAL REPORTS AND ASSESSMENTS TO THE DEVELOPMENT IN WASHINGTON OF SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS FOR BILATERAL APPROACHES AND PREPARE FOR MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.



COMMENT: OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, WE HAVE HELD A SERIES OF DISCUSSION  
S  
WITH POLISH OFFICIALS ON MULTI-LATERAL ISSUES, BOTH IN WARSAW  
AND WASHINGTON. AGAIN, THESE EXCHANGES HAVE PRODUCED LITTLE IN  
THE WAY OF POLISH ACCOMMODATION TO OUR INTERESTS. BUT THEY  
PROBABLY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE MORE CONCILIATORY ATMOSPHERE  
OF LAST FALL'S 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AND THEY HAVE SURELY  
INCREASED GOP UNDERSTANDING OF US POLICIES. WE HOPE SOME OF THIS  
UNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN RELAYED TO THE USSR AND TO OTHER EAST  
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. FOR THE FUTURE, WE PROPOSE TO CONTINUE THESE  
DISCUSSIONS IN WARSAW, WASHINGTON, NEW YORK, AND GENEVA. ON ISSUES  
WHERE US AND POLISH ATTITUDES ARE SIMILAR, SUCH AS UN FUNDING, WE  
RECOMMEND BILATERAL CONSULTATION ON STRATEGY. WE ALSO RECOMMEND  
SUPPORT FOR POLISH CANDIDATES TO MULTI-LATERAL ORGANIZATIONS  
WHenever WE FAVOR NO COMPETING CANDIDATE AND WHENEVER ANY SUCH  
POLISH OFFICE HOLDER IS LIKELY TO ACT RESPONSIBLY. IN GIVING  
OUR SUPPORT, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD SAY WE EXPECT A QUID PRO QUO  
ON ISSUED AND CANDIDATES WHEN POLISH DELEGATIONS ARE ABLE TO  
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ACT INDEPENDENTLY. THE EMBASSY WILL REPORT SUCH OCCASIONS  
IF THEY BECOME KNOWN IN THE CONSULTATIONS WE PROPOSE TO MAINTAIN  
IN WARSAW.  
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## Message Attributes

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